Togliatti's Posthumous Blow for Freedom, P. 4

The Next Crisis Just Around the Bend in U. S. Relations With Chile

"In addition to providing previously ignored social outcasts with opportunities for genuine participation in the national life, Chile faces difficult tasks of capital formation if genuine economic advances are to be made. Given the past failures of private capitalism to respond to the challenge of capital formation, Chilean reform advocates of every political affiliation insist that it will be necessary, at least at the outset to rely on certain socialistic and even Marxian methods. Should a reform administration come to power in Chile the U. S., would be faced with certain psychological difficulties, for the majority of its citizens subscribe to the notion that in the name of the revered Monroe Doctrine all 'un-American' practices must be excluded from the entire hemisphere . . . in Chile there may be no other means by which new social elements can acquire purchasing power and education, gain bargaining power in the sociopolitical complex, and help ultimately thereby to usher in a system of effective democracy."

—Frederick B. Pike: Chile and the U.S. *(Notre Dame, 1963) highly recommended for the Left Catholic point of view.*

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XII, NO. 30 SEPTEMBER 14, 1964 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

What Chile Needs Is An Opening to the Left

While the center of gravity in U.S. politics is moving toward the right, the center of gravity elsewhere in the hemisphere is moving left. Here a broad national front has been formed behind a Texas conservative to defeat the danger of Fascistic influence in the White House. In Chile a broad national front was formed behind a Catholic Leftist to defeat a Popular Front candidate with Communist Party support. This divergence in development forecasts trouble unless the time the U.S. gained by the Chilean victory is put to good use. The first essential is to understand better what happened in Chile and what might have happened in the U.S. The election of a Communist-supported Socialist in Chile, pledged to nationalize U.S. copper and nitrate properties, would have pushed U.S. politics further rightward. The prospect of another Castro in the hemisphere, this time in one of South America's Big Three, would have let loose a burst of hysteria worse than that we have seen over Cuba. It would have given the Goldwaterites a boost in this election, impelled Johnson to new demonstrations of toughness this time in Latin America, set back the fragile beginnings of peaceful understanding with Moscow and the hope after the election of negotiating an end to the Indochinese war with Peking. When a power as big as the U.S. has fits, the whole world shakes, and fits we would have had if the Left had won in Chile.

No Victory for Free Enterprise

If we are to use the reprieve wisely, it is important to realize that Frei Montalva's victory in Chile was not a victory for democracy or free enterprise as they are defined in the simple-minded U.S. lexicon. Chile is barely beginning to be a democracy in our sense of the word; it is a nation in which a landed aristocracy has played the game of parliamentary musical chairs much as it was played in England before the Nineteenth Century Reform Bills gave lower class Englishmen the right to vote. It is only in recent decades that pressure from below has forced Chile's oligarchy to utilize one makeshift after another to protect its privileges. The latest was to support a Catholic Leftist as a lesser evil. This oligarchy is anti-democratic and anti-capitalistic. The paradox in Chile, as elsewhere in Latin America, is that U.S. capitalist interests allied themselves with the big landowners in policies designed to *prevent* industrial and capitalist development. U.S. copper and nitrate companies have been interested in getting raw materials out of Chile as cheaply as possible, not in developing native industry. For landowners and copper magnates alike this would mean higher labor costs. The biggest push toward industrialism and capitalism in Chile came from its first Popular Front government, which was elected in 1938 and launched the Chilean Development Corporation, the first of its kind in Latin America. It initiated a wide variety of public, semi-public and private enterprises, giving Chile its first steel plant, its first oil industry and its first public power company. The most important measure required for peaceful relations with Latin America and peaceful reform there is to educate the U.S. to the need for such governmental planning and direction if development is to get off the ground in time to match the population explosion and popular aspiration.

(Continued on Page Two)

Another Goldwaterite for Talks With China

"Sen. Goldwater in a spirit of desperation understandable in the light of the speed with which his enemies pounce on any realistic suggestion, has now said that maybe the time has come to negotiate with the Red Chinese Government. There is a sense in which, considering the politically available realities, he is absolutely and unchallengeably correct . . . the American people are not prepared to make the sacrifices that are apparently necessary to keep South Vietnam free. . . . So that President Johnson, like Barry Goldwater, has only the alternatives: We will surrender, or we will negotiate. . . . If you cannot beat the enemy, either because you lack the strength to do so, or the will, the thing to do is to negotiate. . . . Rather negotiate now with the Red Chinese, than a few months from now when Saigon falls into the hands of the neutralists."

—Wm. F. Buckley, Jr., editor of the rightist National Review *in his newspaper column, Sept. 6-7.*

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Frei For Peace With Cuba and Trade With the Communist Bloc

(Continued from Page One)

U.S. public opinion will also have to accept the fact that this new regime will not "stand firmly with the West" if that means isolating Cuba and embargoing trade with the Communist countries. Even Frei's conservative predecessor had begun making copper deals with Moscow, Prague and Peking. Frei deplored the break with Cuba and in a press conference after his election expressed the hope that Cuba could be brought back within the hemispheric fold on the basis of the principles of self-determination after the U.S. elections. U.S. public opinion must also be prepared for domestic measures in Chile more drastic than those proposed by Bosch in the Dominican Republic, Villeda Morales in Honduras and Goulart in Brazil before U.S. interests encouraged their overthrow by the military.

Reforms Urgently Needed

The first necessity of the new Chilean regime is to stop Latin America's second worst inflation (after Bolivia), a bonanza for landowners and primary producers but a savage capital levy on its working class. This means effective taxes on large incomes and properties. The second necessity is swift land reform. Only about one-fourth its best arable land is under cultivation, forcing Chile to import food. With 600,000 landless peasants and most of the land in the hands of a few great families indifferent to its wise use, the big estates must be broken up. On top of this, Frei Montalva's Christian Democrats, while on record for the ultimate nationalization of the big copper mines, want immediate control of the industry to expand refining at home and marketing abroad. Here there will be a frontal conflict with U.S. interests.

The inner weakness of the Christian Democratic majority will make itself felt as soon as these conflicts begin. For in Chile, as in Western Europe after the war, all kinds of reactionary interests jumped on the Christian Democratic bandwagon because they had nowhere else to go. Only anti-Communism put together the big majority in Chile. As soon as Frei moves to implement his program in the Chilean Congress, to which elections are scheduled in March, his coalition will begin to fall apart. He will be reduced to a minority regime unless he can, like the Christian Democrats in Italy, achieve an "opening to the left" and form an alliance with those elements of the Popular Front which favor peaceful reform rather than revolution. Here Frei's friendship with Allende and the latter's own Socialist background should prove fruitful. It should also be facilitated by the shift in the position of the Chilean Catholic hierarchy in recent years from support of feudalism to support of social reform. Only a new alliance of this kind can give Chile the social reform it needs if major convulsion and perhaps war are to be avoided. But can U.S. public opinion be educated to understand this? Or will we back a military coup if the Chilean oligarchy and the U.S. copper companies cannot corrupt a Frei regime? Last January the *Engineering and Mining Journal,* welcoming the appointment of Thomas Mann as Johnson's policy "czar" for Latin America expressed satisfaction with his "tough, no nonsense approach" and said Chile would be his first test. In Chile the U.S. can easily destroy the last bulwark to what it fears.

Capitalism in Chile

"In its dealings with Chile, the U.S. appeared to align itself unquestioningly with the traditional groups of privilege, seeming to feel that if only they were allowed to preside over a free-enterprise system, the social deformities of the country would somehow be ameliorated. The Chile of the dispossessed has not until very recently, directly concerned the U.S. To a certain extent, this is because there has been a tendency to assume that private capitalism will function in Chile as it now operates in the U.S. Actually, Chilean capitalists have not been forced to heed the lessons brought home to U.S. business leaders after 1929. Their basic policies are still founded upon belief in suppressing rather than cooperating with lower classes, upon small-scale production and excessive per-unit profit, upon government protection—but never government regulation— and upon special privileges which make possible the perpetuation of superannuated means of production. . . . So far as Chile's lower classes are concerned, capitalism has been synonymous with social injustice."

—Frederick B. Pike: Chile and the U.S.

The House Un-Americans Give Students from Cuba Their Annual Go Over

There were some new tactics this year as the Un-American Activities Committee faced the young people who went to Cuba. Chairman Willis did not preside and was absent throughout most of the two-day hearing. Last year his temper got the best of him whenever the students charged that he was not entitled to sit in Congress because Negroes in his Louisiana district were being deprived of the right to vote. In his place as chairman sat Rep. Ichord, a shrewd former District Attorney from Missouri who professed a desire "to protect the Constitutional rights of the witnesses." Behind him, was the Committee's concession to the Civil Rights Act, a Negro employee who periodically fetched pitchers of water.

The announced purpose of the hearing was to uncover loopholes in the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The implication was clear. All who say a kind word about Castro or Cuba must be dupes of international communism. The students selected by the Committee, although they shaved their beards and dressed neatly this year, did not present a convincing case. They spoke in the language of super-revolutionary fantasy. To them Castro Cuba is a paradise, America a tyranny, and the American wage-slave about to burst his chains. In this they echo some old-timers from the '30s, like Truman Nelson, who was present to address an anti-HUAC rally after the first day's hearing. "We in America are being separated from revolutionary renewal," he said as if in the carnage of revolution there was nourishment for the soul.

The most painful voice came from a young Negro just back from Cuba. His name was Charlie "Mao" Johnson, and he earned his nickname. For him the Negro was no mystic revolutionary symbol but a "super-exploited beast of burden." He thought Cuba had only "begun to do away with racism" and he dismissed the American white worker as no friend of the black man. Not once did he mention HUAC, as if it were no worse than the rest of our society. This was really a voice from the depths of black racial despair.

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Appalachia Act Tailored to Suit Coal, Rail and Power Interests

Feeble Development Plan A Challenge to Liberals in Congress

After four years' incubation, the Appalachian Regional Development Act comes before Congress next week. "Our problem," we were told by one of its drafters, "has been to show that the Appalachia program is not another TVA." About this there can be no mistake. This inadequate plan is a challenge to liberals in Congress, and calls for a complete overhaul if it is not to disappoint the hopes it has aroused.

The Act creates no federal planning authority. A regional commission composed of one federal representative and the governors of the 11 Appalachian states must pass on all development plans. This at best is cumbersome; at its worst it gives a near veto to the vindictive Governor Wallace and his sympathizers in the other southern Appalachian states. The victory won over states' rights in the Civil Rights Act has been surrendered here without a stir. Likewise, the central authority imposed upon federal agencies at work in the Tennessee Valley has no counterpart in the Appalachian Act. The regional commission must deal separately with each federal agency. The prerogatives of bureaucrats have become as impregnable as the "rights" of States.

A Public Power Program

Nowhere is the Act more timorous than before the power of the public utilities. Appalachia's primary resource is coal; mining it is the only skill of the region's unemployed. A low-cost federal power program, using coal to generate electricity at the mine mouth, would put the unemployed to work, attract industry to the region, and produce enough profits to finance schools, roads and other public works. (*See box below*). The Act does not mention this plan although it was submitted to the President's Appalachian Commission and to Congress by the region's own residents. There is instead a specific prohibition against the use of funds "to finance the generation, transmission or distribution of electric energy." Only the Senate Public Works Committee has encouraged the public power plan. In its report on the bill it recommends another study. "The public utility lobby has been conspicuous by its absence," one Committee staff man told us. Little wonder when the government does the lobby's own work.

The utilities are not alone in their opposition to a public power program for Appalachia. They are joined by a coalition of coal mine owners, the UMW, and the railroads. The coal interests oppose any step that might offend the utilities, which have become the primary purchasers of bituminous coal. The railroads are in opposition because the generation of electricity at the mine-mouth would eliminate a major part of their freight revenues derived from the shipping of coal to distant generating plants.

A Mellon Fief

This coalition is welded together by monopoly control. In fact, it is only a minor exaggeration to see Appalachia as personal fief of the Mellon family of Pittsburgh. Through Mellon National Bank and Trust the family controls the Appalachian-based Consolidation Coal Co., the nation's largest producer of bituminous coal. Through Consolidation Coal the Mellons used to control the Virginian Railway. Its recent merger with the Norfolk & Western may have diluted Mellon ownership, but Mellon intimates still sit on the Norfolk board to influence if not control it. The merged company is now the largest domestic originator of bituminous coal, carrying 76% of the total tonnage handled in 1962. With their influence firmly established in coal and rails, the Mellons in recent years have turned to utilities. In 1961, when Consolidation Coal acquired what many consider to be controlling interest in Chrysler Corp. and U. S. Steel, the company also purchased over 100,000 shares of American Electric Power, a holding company for six utilities operating throughout Appalachia. American Electric's president is Donald Cook, a close friend of President Johnson.

TVA never had to battle a monopoly like this one. At the American Public Power Association we were told, "If Johnson would back it, and some Senator with a heart—a Gaylord Nelson or a Maurine Neuberger would fight for it, Appalachia could have its own TVA." Perhaps, but it seems more likely that those who have exploited Appalachia in the past will continue to do so with all the impunity of monopolists in a foreign land.

The Case for A TVA-Style Approach to Appalachia's Problems

"In June and again in September, 1963, representatives of the Eastern Kentucky Redevelopment Administration sent resolutions to the President's Appalachian Commission calling for a Federal agency patterned after TVA to develop the electric power potential of the area and to undertake its general social and economic rehabilitation.

"The Edison Electric Institute has estimated that the colossal sum of $175 billion will have to be invested in new electric-power generating facilities in the next 20 years. Steps must be taken to insure that the huge coal resources of Appalachia are utilized in meeting this goal. Dams at strategic locations in the Kentucky highlands could provide storage for cooling water to be used by huge mine-mouth generating plants. Extra-high-voltage transmission lines and the expanding grid system would make it possible to send low-cost power into New England, a region of high power costs. The [proposal] of Consolidated Edison of New York to go some 1,100 miles to Labrador for hydropower points up the possibilities of using Appalachian coal for electric power in the Northeast.

"The hydro- and thermal-power potential of eastern Kentucky could be developed for a billion dollars. And this could be made entirely self-liquidating [within 35 years]. However, such a self-financing corporation should be given a stern mandate to plow back into the impoverished counties in which it would operate a substantial portion of the money from power sales. At least 1 mill per kwh should be added to the price and invested in schools, roads, airports, flood-control, reforestation and reclamation and perhaps the building of entirely new towns. Sustained capital investment over a generation would bring this deprived corner of the American hinterland abreast of the rest of the nation."

—Harry Caudill, Kentucky attorney and author of Night Comes to the Cumberland, *before House and Senate Public Works Committees, June, 1964.*

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The Dead Italian Leader Attacked Khrushchevite Reluctance to Push On With Reform

Togliatti's Testament Will Inspire New Hope for Freedom in the Soviet Bloc

The memorandum written by Palmiro Togliatti on the eve of his death and now published by Luigi Longo, his successor as head of the Italian Communist Party, is a political event of first importance. It performs a service for the best elements in the Soviet bloc by protesting the "slowness and resistance" of the stodgy Soviet leadership in "overcoming the regime of restrictions and suppression of democratic and personal freedom introduced by Stalin." Khrushchev and his circle are still Stalinist in spirit, though much less harsh in conduct. This posthumous nudge from the foremost intellectual of world Communism, and from the Italian party, the most powerful and sophisticated in the West, will give fresh hope to the youth (and to the old idealists) everywhere in Eastern Europe from Warsaw to Moscow.

Lenin, Too, Allowed Little Freedom

Eight years ago, in his comments on the 20th Congress, the Italian Left Socialist leader Nenni, astringently noted how inadequate was the concept of "personality cult" to explain the horrors of the Stalin period. Now his old ally, Togliatti, also criticizes the effort "to explain this solely through Stalin's serious personal defects." To put the blame wholly on Stalin is to evade the need for basic reform. Even Togliatti fails to see how far these reforms must go. He speaks of the need to restore "the *Leninist* [our italics] norms that insured within the party and outside it, a wide liberty of expression and debate on culture, art and also on politics." The loss of liberty began with Lenin, as Rosa Luxembourg, Martov, Kautsky and Emma Goldman saw quite early. Leninist democracy is a Trotzkyist myth.

In opposing a world conference of Communist parties to deal with the obstreperous Chinese, Togliatti recognized that their expulsion and a split would inevitably mean a witch hunt for those suspected of Chinese sympathies and the reimposition of Stalin-style discipline directed from Moscow. The heavy-handed Russians do not have the brains to direct a world movement, and the situations confronted by the individual Communist parties are much too diverse for centralized control. When one recalls the fatal errors Moscow and the Communists made in dealing with the menace of Nazism, one shudders to think of a new Third International, embroiled with a new Fourth directed from Peking, "in internal polemics of a purely ideological nature (as Togliatti wrote) far removed from reality." In Italy Togliatti showed his wisdom in his friendlier attitude toward the Church and the non-Communist Left. There as in many other countries the Communists are a major political factor. More sensible policies on their part are essential to a saner world. Togliatti made a great contribution toward this by his testament.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

In one sense Elizabeth Gurley Flynn died a failure but in another she died a success. The Communist Party of which she was chairman had lost almost all influence and respect; younger, more independent-minded members drifted away when it failed to recognize the implications of the 20th Congress and remained an uninspiring echo of Moscow. Its leadership became a kind of leftwing Old Folks Home, clinging to the conspiratorial and bureaucratic habits of the past. It was a strange position for her latter years, as the stuffy atmosphere of Moscow's hierarchy was a strange place for her to die. The fiery young Irish labor agitator, most passionate and eloquent of America's now vanished IWW's, the long time mate in free love of her fellow anarchist, the wonderful Carlo Tresca, deserved a better end. The pity of it is that so few will realize how much Elizabeth did in her long and devoted lifetime for the betterment of the American working class. The great strikes she led on the eve of World War I were part of the epic struggle of U.S. labor to win its rights. The American Civil Liberties Union she helped organize is our oldest sentinel of basic liberties. A jail term under the Smith Act and isolation were the rewards of her old age, but some day, in a quieter atmosphere, her services to her country will be remembered. Because of her and other radicals like her, American workers are no longer the helpless victims of exploitation to be found elsewhere in this hemisphere. This was her success.

IFS Speaks on Arab-Jewish Relations Under the Auspices of THE NEW OUTLOOK Sept. 18 in New York, 8:30 p.m. at the Newspaper Guild, 133 W. 44th Street.

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NEWSPAPER

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every Monday except the last week in December and the first week in January and Bi-Weekly during July and August at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U.S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

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